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The festive societies and the King Vultures (p. 98 f.) render similar assistance to their members.

But while the growth of agriculture adds to the practical work of the classes, there is diminution by the lessening importance of the communal hunts and the complete elimination of war raids.

Corrections.—Some of my own earliest statements, as well as some of Snethlage's, require explicit correction.[20]

The complete initiation requires not three to five, but about ten years; the number of class leaders is two, not one; not the three, but the four youngest classes are actively engaged in sport; the terms kõ'ikateyẽ and harãkateye do not—in this connection—designate the exogamous moieties, but their namesakes, the eastern *and western class moieties; the classes meet in the houses of their vụ'tẹ', not of* their commandants.

It is quite wrong to speak, as Snethlage does, of a "men's tribal society" into which boys and youths are admitted after numerous tests and ceremonies. The total number of age classes is indefinite, and their totality does not constitute one grand organization. Further, the commandants do not form the elders' council which is really made up of the survivors of no longer athletically active classes, irrespective of their previous incumbency as commandants. As already explained, an exogamous moiety is not headed by "the commandant of its (!) age class," for it has no headman at all. Finally, it is thoroughly confusing to say that a married man continues to take part in the activities of his age class, *"which does not admit his wife's brothers."* Since the classes have nothing to do with the exogamous moieties but are each composed of age mates of *both* moieties, a man and his brothers-in-law may very well belong to a single class.

The Men's Societies[21]

There are six organized men's societies, which appear only during certain festivals. They are: rop, Jaguars; kukén, Agoutis; koikayú, Ducks; hąk, Falcons; kõkrį'ť, Water Monster (masqueraders); me'kẽ'n, Aquatic Birds (buffoons). For convenience the last two may be referred to as Mummers and Clowns, respectively.

Possibly the Fish companies at the tepyarkwá festival and the hõčwá at the sweet-potato ceremony might also be reckoned under this head. Not so the King Vultures, who must be put into a different category (p. 98).

The societies are referred to as me'kwẹ', a term also applied to the age classes. A man will say, "meikwẹ' pẽ kukén," I belong to the Agouti society. Usually a society has some thirty members. Except for the Clowns, the organizations are entered by virtue of one's names (p. 77). Many Indians simultaneously belong to more than one society, but in that case the several societies are usually such as are not obliged to appear at the same time. For instance, one Tunkõ' is a Falcon, a Jaguar, and a Mummer. In addition he also served as a substitute for the Little Falcon in the terminal ceremony of the vụ'tẹ' season and was head of the King Vultures.

Each society has a head appointed by the council and called hõpa'hí, like the tribal chiefs. He is chosen for his gaiety and eloquence, being expected to infuse life into the festive proceedings.

Though women are not admitted to regular membership, each society has two girl associates, mekuičwẹ'i. There is no indication that they anciently represented

[20] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 671. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 167, 169, 170.

[21] These societies evidently are quite distinct in function from the Šerente men's organizations. See Nimuendajú, The Šerente, 59–64. R. H. L.

1[i.e. collective labor in harvesting --- Analyst.]

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575 yarkwá festivals. On these occasions they assemble in a special house lying toward the north on the eastern half of the circumference. However, the Clowns may also be seen singly or in small groups on many other occasions, even in everyday situations; but they withdraw from all the more serious and solemn ceremonials.

575 522 536 In their public performances the Clowns are distinguished by their grotesque make-up as to paint, ornaments, and other paraphernalia; and their behavior is correspondingly absurd. They affect a ridiculous gait and mien and deceive the villagers by harmless lies and false alarms without evoking resentment.

For example, when a boy's ear lobes are pierced, his maternal uncle kills a deer on some unspecified day, dissects it, packs the slices into a basket, and furtively carries this to the plaza. No sooner have the women caught sight of him than they dash out of their houses with knives in order to snatch off a piece of meat in the general scrimmage. One morning when this episode had been due for several days there finally loomed a figure at daybreak that ran toward the plaza carrying a load, which it hurriedly deposited before taking to its heels. At once the women and girls rushed over with yells, fell upon the basket pell-mell, and tore it open, each trying to seize as much as she could of its contents. But this proved to consist of straw, rotten wood, rusty tin cans, and a few rocks. Not only the Clowns, but the whole village laughed at the women standing flabbergasted before their "booty" with their knives and finally they themselves joined in the general merriment.

At certain house-to-house processions the Clowns try to steal food and are sometimes beaten by the women, to everyone's amusement.

At pepkahą'k four of them, with their two girl auxiliaries, enter with face masks of *Lagenaria* rind.

However, the ceremonial activities of the Clowns, as well as of the other organizations are best considered in the description of the festivals.

The Hąmrén

554 622 562 561 This honorific order comprises five otherwise unrelated groups which share public esteem and ceremonial eminence: (1) the village chiefs (pa'hí); (2) the leaders (mamkyê'ti) of the age classes; (3) those girls who are associated with the boys during their initiation ceremony and are called pepkwę'i after the close of the initiation; (4) the women's precentresses (mehõkrepúi); (5) the King Vultures (tamhą'k). Because of the numerical preponderance of the last-named group over the others combined, the term hąmrén is often used as a synonym for tamhą'k; properly it means "recovered from illness."

The first three groups of functionaries are appointed by the council on the basis of personal fitness. This also determines the choice of a precentress, but she is usually selected by the girl's family.

622 623 562 554 Notwithstanding the respect accorded to the hąmrén, they are not coextensive with the persons of distinction, for the councilmen, who (with the chiefs) rule the tribe and are always approached reverentially with a bowlful of food, are by no means hąmrén *as* councilors, but only through special circumstances. Similarly, the precentor, though far more important than his female colleague, is never hąmrén ex officio.

778 554 The natives link the concept of hąmrén with that of something special, superior, more refined, so that they are somewhat distinct from the rest of the population. The head of the King Vultures compared them to the "doutores" of Neobrazilian rustics, who apply the term to all intellectuals, superior officials, etc., irrespective of academic rank. By contrast all other residents are classed as mekakránkra (me,

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

778 personal prefix; kakrán, unripe; kra, people). This term does not suggest social
554 immaturity, but brings out the point that the mekakránkra may eat unripe fruit
● while for the hąmrén all that is not completely mature is taboo. Further, a hąmrén
[784] never eats of the first part of a crop lest he be attacked by snakes or other venomous beasts. A hąmrén who should taste of a green gourd would be afflicted with wounds on his body; in gathering honey he must not eat it directly from the bees' nest, but must first put it on a gourd bowl, otherwise he would be likely to get injured by stepping on the stump of a tree. He would incur the same risk if he were to carve implements, such as clubs or arrowheads, from pau roxo wood in the plaza, where men frequently work manually during the meetings held there. The "unripe people" are immune to such perils.

Because of the above-mentioned confusion of the words hąmrén and tamhą'k I am not clear how many of the numerous restrictions which hedge in the King Vultures apply to the whole order. In any case the taboos listed suggest that a hąmrén is invested with a superior bodily sensitiveness.

778 Formerly all the hąmrén had a distinctive mode of burial, a custom only partly
554 maintained at present. Properly, the corpse of a hąmrén (and none other) has
766 falcon down glued on it; and the interment takes place not behind the deceased person's maternal home, but in front of it, on the inner margin of the boulevard. Finally, secondary burial was confined to this order, though conceivably this was once the rule for all, but persisted for the hąmrén when it had long lapsed for the rest of the people.

778 Outside the Canella I have encountered nothing at all suggestive of this hąmrén
554 institution except among the Kaingang in the Rio Ivahy district (state of Paraná).
171 Here there are at least three classes (p. 82 f.)—paí, vętóro, and péñye, the first ranking highest (cf. Guarani: paí, a person of prestige) and comprising the chiefs. It enjoys ceremonial prerogatives, such as sitting on a white caraguatá blanket; and is credited with peculiar sensitiveness to noxious influences. For that reason, the chief Vegmõ' told me, he had bestowed on his naturally feeble son a péñye rather than a paí name. These classes have distinctive duties in the cult of the dead. A father may assign his child to whatever class he pleases, its affiliation being symbolized by the name it bears. Unfortunately my data are very imperfect. According to Hoerhan, the Botocudo of Santa Catharina—closely related to the Kaingang, though not identical with them—have some comparable institution (p. 83).

Of the first four of my hąmrén categories, the chiefs are best considered under the head of Government, the others in connection with the discussion of ceremonialism.

794 As for the King Vultures, I at first mistook them for an ordinary men's society, for at certain dances and log races their behavior hardly differs from that of the Ducks or Falcons. But soon I recognized them as a wholly distinct type of unit, seeing that they are *ipso facto* hąmrén, in fact, form the bulk of the order. Further, while the societies figure ceremonially only at certain definite festive periods and in a markedly dramatic fashion, the King Vultures have permanent functions of pronouncedly magical and social significance. Finally, they are without girl associates.

794 The word tamhą'k is a synonym for kukriti (king vulture [*Gypagus papa*]),
825 with whom the members claim kinship, designating him as kedti (maternal uncle). However, they do not in any way worship or revere this bird, nor do they make ceremonial use of its feathers or parts of its body. As the king vulture makes food available to the ordinary black vultures (by tearing open the carrion against which their weak bills are impotent), so a King Vulture feeds others.

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Membership is not transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son, but goes with the honorary chieftainship of an alien Timbira tribe. When one Timbira group visits another, the hosts glue falcon down on one of the guests, preferably a young man, paint him with urucú, and make him present himself before the councilors in the plaza with a bowlful of food. By this rite he becomes their honorary chief, mehõpa'hí, which is reckoned a great distinction. This ceremony always takes place shortly before sunset, the time when the girls are singing and the elders assembling in the plaza. At a return visit to their erstwhile guests, the former hosts look up the man thus chosen, who billets them on his mother or wife or both, charging himself with their entertainment.

In 1930 Vicente Kratpẽ', the chief of the Krahõ', who had incurred the animosity of the Apinayé, made an offer of peace and amity through me. In dictating the message to me, he explicitly referred to their having appointed his son a courtesy chief and urged them to visit their mehõpa'hí.[108] In 1931 the Guajajára paid their first visit to the Rąmkõ'kamekra, who chose one of their young men as honorary chief. He was probably little pleased with the consequences of his elevation, for henceforth whole bands of Rąmkõ'kamekra would descend upon him for continuous and prolonged visits.

In short, it is an honorary chief's duty to provide food for the members of the tribe by which he has been honored. Of the four tribal groups united at Ponto—the predominant Rąmkõ'kamekra, the Čą'kamekra, the Krõ'rekamekra, and the Karẽkateye—each has one or more of these courtesy chiefs in each of the others—the more, the better in the interest of their food supply. It is the totality of these courtesy chiefs, who in 1931 numbered thirty-four, that constitutes the order of King Vultures; and since the tribal chiefs are hąmrén, the title is extended likewise to the tamhą'k.

This is the only way of becoming a King Vulture. It does happen frequently that as a man grows older his electors choose his sister's son as successor to his aging uncle because youth is deemed essential for the magical practices of the order. But the specific relationship is inessential. In one case a son was appointed to supersede his father, and other youths were chosen though neither their fathers nor their uncles had ever been tamhą'k. This principle applies also to the post of leader of the order.

Adopted by a Čą'kamekra family, I am classed accordingly in the village. Čątú, my hąpínpéy (see p. 100), is a Rąmkõ'kamekra proper and in 1930 had me initiated as tamhą'k by his tribe.

A King Vulture ought to be generous to his electors and to conform in every way to native standards of conduct. If he returns with game and meets a member of the tribe that has honored him, he deposits his spoils before him as a gift and silently departs. All tamhą'k give presents to the groups that have chosen them as courtesy chiefs. On the other hand, when people at large have killed game, the King Vultures (like the other hąmrén) share in the first portions distributed. The ideal behavior expected of a tamhą'k seems to be also imposed on his next of kin: an Indian who had deserted his wife without just cause was reminded of his son's quite recent admission to the King Vultures.

Initiation may occur at a very early age, say, from six to ten years on, so that the order includes many lads and no really old men.

The magic of this order rests on the belief that the King Vultures, especially if young and vigorous, beneficially influence activities they inaugurate and objects

[108] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 19 f.

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Accordingly rape was unknown, the only contrary instance being that of an Indian who had been intoxicated to senselessness in a Neobrazilian house; on the way home he ravished his twelve-year old daughter, but on coming to he had not the slightest recollection of his deed.

DAILY DANCES

The relations of the young people of opposite sex are best illustrated by their joint dances in the plaza, which normally take place three times every day during the ceremonial season. The party includes as participants:

1. The precentor, ikrérekaté. Of this category the Canella have two or three good representatives and a number of mediocre ones. The younger ones who show talent are instructed by the older precentors, at whose side they appear. A worthy precentor requires a good voice, a good memory for the innumerable dance songs, and bodily endurance. His instrument is the dance rattle, ko'tõi, made of the rind, usually painted red, of a *Crescentia cuiete*, mounted on a wooden handle that projects above as an elongated tip, by which the rattle can be planted in the ground (pl. 32, *b*, *c*). At the grip end a rectangular hole in the handle permits the insertion of a plaited wrist loop, which has a long tassel. The precentor is by no means a medicine-man nor has his rattle the slightest religious significance, as Abreu erroneously assumes.[109]

A remarkable description of the rattle wielded by a Põrekamekra precentor is given by Pohl: "This [precentor] carried in his right hand a ¾-yard-long staff along which a blackened coconut shell could be pushed up and down by the movement of the body. Within the shell were maize kernels, which produced a loud noise." I have never seen such an instrument, which recalls the "taran" observed by Snethlage among the Moré of the upper Madeira region. But Pohl does not seem to have closely viewed the object he describes, for it could hardly have been a "coconut shell" and the "maize kernels" were presumably the black pamtij seeds which both the Eastern and Western Timbira exclusively use and specially cultivate for this purpose.

The precentor generally wears a forehead band, a neck band with a tassel for the back of the neck, sashes across the chest, sometimes cotton bracelets—never a loincloth such as Jurandyr Paes Leme paints in representing a Ponto dance.[110]

2. The precentress, mehõkrepúi, has already been referred to (p. 97).

3. The girls from about their seventh year until at least their first pregnancy. Many a woman eagerly participates even subsequently so far as the care of her infant permits. On the other hand, women of the critical age or grandmothers never take part.

4. The males comprise at least the older members of the unofficial boys' class and the two junior official classes, mepantúa.

If the youths are otherwise engaged, the girls will dance by themselves, but this is certainly not the normal thing, contrary to what might be inferred from Snethlage's and Abreu's reports, both of which mention only the dancing girls and the precentor, saying nothing about the participation of young men. Indeed, Snethlage goes so far as to speak of a "women's dance."[111]

[109] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 180, 182.

[110] Fróes Abreu, op. cit., 182. Pohl, Reise, 2:201. "Dieser trug in der Rechten einen drey viertel Ellen langen Stab, an welchem eine schwarz gefärbte Kokosschale durch die Bewegung des Körpers auf und niedergeschoben werden konnte. In der Schale waren Maiskörner, welche ein lautes Geräusche verursachten."

[111] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 180.

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Within the whole span of my experience I observed a single instance of the levirate, an elderly widower marrying his younger brother's widow. It struck me as an exceptional case. There certainly was not the least obligation for such a step; on the contrary, several Indians seemed to regard the affair as a bit peculiar and the manner in which the man concerned, my "brother," chief Kukrãčą', told me about it sounded almost apologetic.

MATRILOCAL RESIDENCE; IN-LAWS

There is strict matrilocalism; even if a husband builds a separate dwelling for his wife, it is invariably erected beside her mother's. I know of no instance of a woman's spending as much as a single night in her husband's mother's house except to tend him during a serious illness, for in that case he would invariably be conveyed to his maternal home. Sometimes, as noted, a niece may be raised in her paternal aunt's house.

As a rule a young husband plays a very modest part in his mother-in-law's house. If his conduct is disapproved of, he is not indeed turned out of doors, but the other inmates simply ignore him. Unless, then, the union is of the indissoluble type, the poor fellow either turns over a new leaf or takes his sleeping mat, either returning to his mother's dwelling or joining his age class in the plaza.

During the first years of wedlock a man never communicates directly with his parents-in-law, his wife serving as an intermediary for either party. In the course of time—especially after the arrival of children—the rule is relaxed, that is, at first only between father-in-law and son-in-law, who henceforth converse with fair freedom from restraint. Finally, the wife's mother also addresses her daughter's husband, though a certain reserve is maintained inasmuch as they avoid meeting or addressing each other when by themselves. In case of a chance encounter the son-in-law gives the woman a wide berth.

On the other hand, a husband is quite free in his intercourse with his wife's brothers. In several instances I was struck by their inconsiderate use of the husband's personal property, and a certain Nyõhí once confidentially complained to me about the tyranny of his brothers-in-law. Connections by marriage never address each other by their names, but use the proper kinship terms unless they are each other's hąpín or kwų'nõ, which makes them substitute these terms. A woman calls a man "my son-in-law" even after the dissolution of the marriage.

A good son-in-law is, above all, expected to lay out a plantation for his wife and to supply her with meat. Many couples remain in the wife's maternal home for good; some erect one for themselves, but this always belongs to the wife, even after divorce, notwithstanding the fact that it was built by her husband.

From the matrilocal organization, coupled with feminine house and field ownership, as well as control of the children, it follows that the husband as such plays a minor role, his influence resting on personal merit. With the lapse of time some may thus attain an important position, others remain subordinate all their lives. In no circumstances is there any question of masculine dominance over a wife and children.

The contact with civilization, facilitating housebuilding and agriculture through the introduction of iron tools, enhanced the importance of women, while that of men rather decreased through the elimination of war and the diminution of hunting. A widow's destitution, a disowned wife's misery, a couple's quarrel over the control of their offspring—these are matters known to the Canella only as occurring among their civilized neighbors. After the husband's death the widow and her

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593 182 Apart from disturbances of this sort and others due to the men's intoxication, marital life pursues an extraordinarily even course. Matrilocal residence safeguards women from their husbands' tyranny, while the manifold masculine organizations militate against henpecking. No woman ever tries to keep her husband from taking part in performances of his organizations; and no man forbids his wife to join in all of the three daily dances. Undoubtedly the multiplicity of ceremonial units tends to separate spouses and promotes each one's acting independently of the other. Man and wife never proceed to a festival or ceremony jointly, each going by himself whenever his presence is required.

837 833 Many a Neobrazilian neighbor acts as though he had difficulty avoiding fornication with Indian girls constantly offered by their fathers. Snethlage[99] thus heard about a mulatto alleged to have secured the *jus primae noctis* of all the virgins in a Krahõ′ village in return for an annual payment of a dozen head of cattle. In 1930 I spent a fortnight in the Krahõ′ village of Pedra Branca. When I was about to leave, the inhabitants and, above all, chief Vicente Kratpẽ′ made every effort to attach me to the tribe, for they had grasped my attitude toward ancient Indian usage and wanted to use me to oppose the Baptist missionaries. I was requested to wait until after a certain festival, but I answered that time would not permit this. Then the chief offered me a girl; I declined. In the evening he and his wife came to me with two girls of whom I was to select the one I liked better. However, both were village wantons, daughters of the chief's sister; and he offered them to me not because I was a transient visitor, but in my capacity of a prospective fellow tribesman and champion of tribal tradition.

548 626 On the other hand, I have known a Rąmkõ′kamekra who kept two young wantons, the daughters of a deceased sister, in his matrilineal home, and sold their favors to Neobrazilians. But when people began to gossip about his behavior, it was so vigorously condemned that he felt obliged to forego this source of income.

832 609 According to my observation young girls are the very ones to display a marked repugnance to Neobrazilians, especially if dark skinned and frizzy haired, since the strangers depart widely from the native ideal of manly beauty. Their clothing repels the lasses, their easy-going, sauntering gait seems ridiculous since a kind of dogtrot is prized as the acme of youthful dash; and altogether the inquisitive outsiders prove a disturbing element. If a Neobrazilian joins a bevy of girls, they soon begin to pass surly comments, and the one who best controls Portuguese speech bluntly asks what he wants and bids him depart. They delight in lying to such men, telling them the Indian men are likely to kill them, etc.

833 609 177 It is nevertheless quite possible that older wantons and perhaps an occasional married woman will yield access to civilized men; such cases hardly ever occur in the settlement, but only when the Indians scatter over their territory in small groups during the season before the ripening of the crops. At that time they are everywhere surrounded and hemmed in by Neobrazilians, camp in their immediate vicinity, and associate with them. Further, there was one woman in Ponto who was about thirty years old and was known to the Neobrazilians as Romana. She often spent weeks among them, was the only native woman addicted to drink, and had free intercourse with neighbors; the Indians shunned her, I think, from fear of venereal diseases.

WANTONS

837 562 554 The wantons (mentíapeyti) form—apparently among all those Timbira tribes that are still tolerably numerous and well organized—a recognized, though not organized class. According to old custom, girls are wantons if they did not marry as

[99] Snethlage, Nordostbras. 170.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

837 562 554 virgins; the group further comprises all divorcées and widows who do not as soon as possible enter another fixed union. Irrespective of those who were formerly wantons and subsequently became permanently married, Ponto has twelve to fifteen members of this class. They are not regarded as outcasts nor is their mode of life condemned as vicious. They arouse public displeasure only if they lure men away from their wives, and even then the man is held solely responsible. Privately and publicly the wantons are on a footing of equality in their relations with virgins and married women; they are simply not models and have certainly failed to live up to the ideal.

It took me considerable time to determine the identity of the wantons, for their behavior is devoid of impudence or boldness, even in talking with the bachelors of the tribe. To them, too, the Timbira principle applies that a man is helpless against a woman's aversion, so that there is no question of any coercion or of a wanton's obligation to yield to a man coveting her. On the contrary, they choose their lovers and, what is more, mostly in an extraordinarily discreet manner. Usually the wanton gets her brother to ask the young man she favors to bring her a piece of some game animal or something of the sort. If he consents, he immediately suggests through the intermediary a rendezvous at a specified spot in the steppe or the woods at a certain time. Thither he takes his gift and receives his reward.

837 585 Most of the wantons soon establish so permanent a relationship with their lovers as to create the impression of ceremonially wedded wives as soon as the man sleeps in her matrilineal home. Indeed, especially after the birth of children, they come to be regarded as such. So far as I was able to observe, this is even the most frequent form of union nowadays. Only a small minority fully exercise their right to take up with any man they wish. Such happenings as Von den Steinen describes for the Bororo[88] are not possible among the Timbira.

The lovers supply their mistresses in the manner stated with gifts, especially victuals, but also with other objects. If the present is such as to be unsuitable for the girl, she will turn it over to her brother, who is usually cognizant of her amours and figures as her natural protector and counselor.

[848] A pregnant wanton names all the men with whom she has had sexual relations during pregnancy, thus enabling them all to go into seclusion in the infant's interests (p. 107).

834 837 At present not a single wanton pays the least attention to moiety exogamy. My impression is that it was these wantons who first transgressed the rule and that people came to regard union with one of these girls as the normal form of matrimony.

DESIRE FOR CHILDREN

562 842 The more children parents have, the better they like it. Since there is sex equality neither boys nor girls are preferred. In 1936 six girls happened to be born one after the other, a circumstance that attracted general attention, but no unfavorable comment.

586 842 A man would leave the wife he had married as a virgin provided she proved barren. I do not know how far this was a mere pretext, for I know two childless couples who have not the least intention of separating for that reason.

782 In order to effect conception a woman breaks the egg of some bird, preferably that of a *Tinamus* species, and rubs the yolk on her body. Others invoke the sun: Smearing urucú on the palms of their hands, they go outside the village in the morning, raise their hands toward the rising sun and pray: "kedti! ĩymãiykra ño,

[88] Von den Steinen, Naturvölkern, 388 f.

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526 322 824 The ordinary logs are called krowa, burity palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*), being formed from a cylindrical section of one of these trees. About 1 m. long and 40-50 cm. in thickness, these logs may be estimated to weigh 100 kg., but are actually somewhat lighter. To afford a better grip the makers set off a shallow hollow from the margins of the terminal planes. (See pl. 29, *b*.) Among the Krĩkatí I saw gigantic logs, but they had been bilaterally hollowed out, leaving a transverse partition 5 cm. in thickness. Invariably a man of mature years tests the completed logs at the site of manufacture, ordering those he judges too heavy to be lopped off and over-light ones to be deposited in the water.

Logs made out of the heartwood of other trees are called pąra. The pą'rakahą'k made at the beginning of the pepyé initiation—with grips projecting from the terminal planes in the direction of the longitudinal axis—represent a special variety. I observed similar specimens among the Kre'pų'mkateye. Distinct from these are the pąrakačą're used on the first and second days of the closing ceremony of the ketúaye festival. Their weight is negligible; on the other hand, the hąmkrán typical of the opening of the vų'tę' season are the heaviest I have ever seen.

526 292 For the more solemn log races the Rąmkõ'kamekra adorn themselves with girdle pendants far less impressive than those of the Apinayé; they likewise put on forehead bands, neck bands, sashes, and burity-fiber girdles. The pendants and the girdles have long posterior tail-like appendages. At a major race at the close of the ketúaye the participants had tied together their long occipital hair with a grass fan of the type referred to on page 48 (see pl. 20, *b*).

526 302 534 [271] The Rąmkõ'kamekra paint themselves black for a log race. During it they use as instruments only trumpets and their little calabash ocarinas. Like the Apinayé they wrap their wrists with plaited cotton cords terminating in tassels (pl. 11, *c*, *d*); this is to afford protection from chafing against the edge of the log. It is the young girls' duty at major races to provide themselves with gourd bottles filled with water and, keeping pace with the runners, to slake their thirst.

526 The teams alternate in issuing a challenge. Either at an evening or a morning session a councilor once and for all delegated for this duty loudly calls the team whose turn has come, "aikõ'! aikõ'! ape kọ'ikateye (or whatever may be the team in question) kanąm meká iykre kačúa to ike'ké!" Those summoned reply in chorus, "hã'o!"

At a suitable distance from the village, in a *galeria* forest with burity palms, the challengers prepare the two logs and, when done, drag them to one of the race tracks if feasible, but as a rule only as far as one of the bypaths that ultimately lead to the track. A space about 6 m. square is cleared, and there the logs are laid down at a distance of about 1½ m. from each other, resting on leaves so as not to be soiled. They are always put down with the axis in the direction of the course. The above-mentioned hąmkrán are painted red by two erstwhile girl associates of the pepyé. (See pl. 29, *a*.)

526 554 The ceremony of the čų'kate with the hąmkrán logs resting on the ground has been described. The office of these four čų'kate is attached to the names Vakái, Pąrkré, Pądnhí and Mĩkrõ', with which it is passed on by inheritance. Their badge consists of a girdle plaited of cotton; it is of the width of two fingers. Hanging from it is a pendant (čų) of rattling objects, properly tapir hoofs; but since nowadays the tapir is extinct within the tribal domain, the tips of little bottle gourds, deer hoofs, and ostrich beaks serve as substitutes. From this girdle the čų'kate derive their name, and formerly all four of them wore these emblems in their official capacity; but at present only one of them owns one.

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526 organization of teamwork. In contrast to the Apinayé, these people make not the slightest effort to improve inferior achievements in log racing.[=]

● 554 The champion racers (mehitų'i) are esteemed and enjoy a certain prestige, but no special prerogatives or insignia.

The following is the constitution of the opposing sides:

526 1. During the ceremonial season it is in general the two western age classes that
616 are pitted against the eastern pair. This arrangement still holds if a ketúaye or pepyé festival is held that year.

561 2. The pąrakahą'k race at the beginning of the pepyé seclusion is exceptional in
575 that the western plaza groups compete with the eastern ones. For further exception, see below under 7.

3. During the entire course of a pepkahą'k celebration the Duck society races against the Falcons. At the close of this festival the Clowns, the King Vultures, and the pepkahą'k themselves side with the Falcons.

4. During a tepyarkwá the eastern run against the western plaza groups; or, in the simpler form of the festival, the eastern and western age classes oppose each other.

5. During the Mummers' festival the Mummers and the Agoutis race against the Jaguars.

6. The Agoutis, aided by the Clowns, also oppose the Jaguars at the termination celebration of every ceremonial season.

7. During the meipimrą'k season the ką' are pitted against the atų'k.

526 In former times there also seems to have been competition between members of
628 different tribes; and since the performers would clandestinely bring along weapons and hide them somewhere en route—a thing that never happened in intratribal contests—dangerous brawls resulted. I heard of instances apparently dating back some forty to fifty years. The Apąnyekra, then far more numerous than now, would come to visit the Rąmkõ'kamekra, manufacturing logs at a suitable distance from the village and then issuing their challenge. Since there was always some bad blood between these tribes, the race would terminate in sanguinary fighting.

526 On certain occasions the bigger girls and young women likewise race with logs;
881 but while the annual number of men's races far exceeds a hundred, I know of only
562 the following four occasions that involve a feminine race as part of the programme:

1 and 2. When at the close of each phase of initiation a tamed wild pig is killed and prepared for eating, a log race is arranged. The simultaneously racing men are grouped according to eastern and western age classes, to which units there is no feminine parallel. Accordingly the matrilineal kinswomen of members of the eastern age classes compete with those of the western classes.

3. According to a corresponding principle the several feminine log-race teams at the tepyarkwá festival are recruited from matrilineal kinswomen of the eastern and western plaza moieties.

4. At the opening of the meipimrą'k season there is a log race for girls and women. Since the dual division of this period embraces both sexes, the organization into teams automatically follows for both.

526 Although the girls and women are always granted a considerable handicap in
562 competition with the youths and men, they are invariably soon overtaken. The women's logs are manufactured by the men and often made too heavy. Four times I witnessed the desperate, but vain efforts by the women to carry their logs into the village unaided; they were especially baffled by the downtrodden sand of the

[=] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 74.

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527 moieties ranged themselves in two facing lines from north to south. Thus they went singing, first to the west, then to the east, and finally again westward, whereupon they broke up. Cą're handed the lance to Nyõhí, who painted himself red, then sang and danced all morning and part of the afternoon with the lance on all the radial paths from the plaza to the houses and back (cf. the solo dance, p. 139).

527 554 The second occasion was the award of a lance in 1936, at the close of tepyarkwá, to the leader of the Clowns "because he had proved nimble and merry, was a good singer, and did everything as ordered by the elders. The arara tail feathers that decorated this lance—nowadays one of the greatest valuables in this tribe—had a long previous history. At the ketúaye of 1934 they had served to adorn the mankyẽ'tis' occiputs. After the terminal ceremony the councilors had a hąkyará decoration made thereof, an article that goes round the forehead, falling down the back. This they awarded to one Haką', whose rapid intelligence and ability as precenter during the initiation festival had aroused their approbation. (See pl. 28, *a*.) For two years he danced and sang with this decoration, then made a present of it to the Fish Otters at tepyarkwá (p. 229), and they made it into feathers for the nape of the neck. After the close of this festival the councilors had a ceremonial lance decorated with this ornament and for the reason given above bestowed the emblem on Pačét, leader of the Clowns.

Another sham fight took place during preparations for the above-mentioned big ricochet shooting after tepyarkwá. The council had sent the junior of the two eastern age classes to the Serro do Alpercatas in order to fetch a great quantity of the arrow cane that grows there. On their return three days later they camped at some distance from the village, each making half a dozen arrows for himself. The next morning they marched to the village, where the junior western class, armed with throwing sticks, was expecting them in the plaza. The easterners distributed their membership over three radial paths. Suddenly the two parties shouted and rushed toward each other till they were about fifty meters apart. The westerners began hurling their sticks, while their opponents discharged arrows with blunt heads. Nevertheless a westerner was wounded in one foot.

526 *Wrestling.*—Pohl describes a wrestling scene connected with a declaration of war (see below). Kissenberth says the extinct Kénkateye-Canella were passionately devoted to this sport, but Snethlage recognized its subordinate role among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, where he saw only youths engaged in wrestling.[203] I witnessed such contests only on the part of the novices graduating from pepyé, after their seclusion proper was ended, when they were camped in the woods near the village; and here, too, it was a matter of mere play.

526 539 The following tale was heard.

Down by the brook, but in a little frequented spot somewhat above the general water supply, there were seated a dozen young girls and women. By chance one Kenkré, a lad of eighteen or nineteen, happened to walk along and was about to pass by, for it is not advisable to intrude on a bevy of lasses when they want to be by themselves. But they barred his path, saying, "You have the reputation of being a strong lad, Kenkré; well, then wrestle with us." He did so, throwing one after another, but after a dozen of these combats he grew tired and began to lose. However, the girls continued to challenge him till he was utterly exhausted. Then they chased him away.

Girl wrestlers seem to have a noteworthy knack of flattening an opponent's backbone with a jab.

524 *Stilts.*—Contrary to Apinayé usage,[204] only the boys of this tribe walk on stilts

[203] Pohl, Reise, 2:206. Kissenberth, Araguaya-Reise, 41. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 183.

[204] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 117.

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was told, the family of the injured wife would have demanded indemnification. Again, an intoxicated Indian kicked his wife and she was ailing for some time after; a divorce ensued, but no further consequences. In addition I noted four or five rather harmless drunken brawls. When a drunkard remains a nuisance, the chiefs have him tied unless the man's relatives have already resorted to that measure, not as a penalty but a precaution. I have never seen in any Timbira village a post to which culprits are tied by way of punishment.[207]

The damages demanded when defloration is not followed by wedlock and the attitude toward adultery have been described.

Disciplinary transgressions are punished only in the case of the lads in initiatory seclusion. During the nocturnal reunions of the pepyé in their first commandant's courtyard, the culprit was called to appear between the double line of pepyé seated along the walls, where the second commandant addressed to him a prolix rebuke. In graver cases the boy had to lift his arms and the two messenger boys administered several lashes on his back with the long, thin rods (pĩhêre) that are their inseparable appanage. A pepyé who breaks the rule of chastity is forced to eat great quantities of Cayenne pepper. In 1933 the councilors were about to decree this penalty for Tepyét because he sneaked out of his retreat every night to visit his fiancée; but when Tepyét saw that the elders really meant to punish him, he altered his conduct in the nick of time. Among the Apą'nyekra such a culprit would be removed from his retreat and set in the plaza beside his associate in guilt, which was regarded as very ignominious.

Evil sorcerers were executed (see p. 239 f.).

The following legal principles emerge from the concrete instances: (1) Both the culprit and the aggrieved party are aided by the extended families; (2) the chiefs and councilors take pains to adjust quarrels as soon as possible; (3) for this purpose they use the services either of specially gifted persons or of the individuals linked by specially close ties to the parties involved.

Chiefs.—As indicated above, a chief does not command and punish, but is above all a peacemaker. He does not interfere in a family's private affairs, but when his decision is requested it is held binding. At the time of my visit there were three village chiefs, Ropką' (Jaguar-skin), Hąktokót, and Kukrãčą'. Ropką', the oldest, had been mamkyẽ'ti of an age-class that graduated about 1893, but his colleagues had never served in a corresponding capacity. Whenever strife threatens, the chiefs and councilors send men of recognized skill as moderators to calm a refractory tribesman.

The leader of any unit excepting the age-classes is called pa'hí, mehopa'hí, but only a village chief is hąmrén.

Chiefs exercise little political control and display a minimum of individual assertiveness, for the omnipresent ceremonial regulates most of the social life, and it is their and the council's duty to maintain the customary law rather than legislate anew. Chiefs lack badges of official status and receive not a whit more of the food offerings periodically presented in the plaza than the councilors associated with them. They work for a living precisely as any fellow tribesman. However, they do enjoy a measure of prestige, as shown by certain rules of etiquette. Thus, strangers must present themselves to one of the chiefs and explain the object of their visit; he may then either discuss the matter with his colleagues and the council at their next session or immediately call an extraordinary meeting. In the plaza a chief always sits near the center, for it would be indecorous for anyone else to seat himself in front of a chief or to turn his back upon him.

[207] As related by Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 12.

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In order to fill a vacancy the remaining chiefs and the councilors jointly elect a mature man of conciliatory temperament and of some oratorical ability. They like to choose a former mamkyẽ'ti because of his experience as a leader, but, as shown, this is not a prerequisite. So far as I know, no chief has ever been deposed, but once an old man who pleaded unfitness was relieved of incumbency at his own request. I have neither observed any rivalry among chiefs nor any eagerness to become chief.

Ro·kạ' was not considered a good chief, since he grossly neglected his duties, absenting himself for months on the plantations of his wife's extended family and frequently got intoxicated. Hąktokót, who happens to be his younger brother, directed festivals not as a chiefly prerogative, but from inclination and because of his experience. Kukrãčạ', about the same age, was the one most concerned for the common welfare; he is thoroughly convinced of the absolute correctness of old Indian customs. In private life he is a wag, hence an eminent Clown.

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under their mouths, and were fed in this posture. Then they resumed dancing and sang, "hamuyõ-hõ hamuyõ-ho a-hõ hamuyõ-hõ hamuyõ-hõ a-hõ hamuyõ rikavá!" They also had other songs, which the boy learnt. When he at last caught up with his people, he reported about the behavior of the dead and taught them their songs.

Another myth connects with a cannibalistic Arazon, Kupẽtiayabré, who had driven the Indians to abandon their village because of her attacks and who had raised two kidnaped boys. One of these stole a pet mutum (*Mitua mitu*) of the cannibal's, and she then plotted against their lives, but at night they managed to escape. In the evening they reached the deserted tribal village and were very hungry. Outside they met their grandfather, who was fetching firewood. He accompanied the boys into the village, where many people were dancing in the plaza. The old man fed the boys, but the food disappeared before they had touched it. Then the boys recognized that the beings dwelling there were the souls of the dead. When they returned to their kin, they told about this experience. Then a brave and clever man returned to the deserted village and clandestinely learned the souls' chants and ceremonies.

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Organization in 1930; officers.—This was the third ketúaye of the põhịtîkama age class. The first, opening their cycle, had occurred in 1926, but was not performed according to the proper routine, hence had to be repeated the next year. In 1928, pepkahą'k, a festival independent of initiation, was celebrated; in 1929 the age class underwent the first performance of the second phase, pepyé; and in 1930 the second half of the cycle started with a third ketúaye.

Arriving about the end of May, 1930, I found that the ceremony had begun about a fortnight before, hence for this period I have to depend on the statements of participants. Confidentially, the elders had told me in the previous year that the celebration would begin in May, but the exact date of the commencement was only decided in a general conclave of the councilors. It was purposely postponed until the Indian agent in Barra do Corda assured them that I was coming soon. The general direction was assumed by two chiefs, of whom Hąktokót, representing the western plaza groups, played the chief part. His colleague Kukrãčą' represented the eastern plaza groups, for in ketúaye the significant dual grouping is that of the plaza.

The chiefs first appointed as two mekapónkote, one from each of these nonexogamous moieties, two young men in their mid-twenties, who had graduated from initiation and were qualified for this office by their serious disposition. They command the two plaza moieties of the ketúaye and carry as badges two long, thin rods. In a procession they march at the tail end of the ketúaye.

Next were chosen two hapąnkate (catchers), one from each plaza moiety—men of about thirty, with constabulary duties. These officials carry sword clubs and wear plaited forehead cords and bandoleers.

At the initial ketúaye of this class in 1926 the elders had already selected two mamkyẽ'ti (class leaders) from among the novices starting on their cycle. This office is lifelong, hence the same functionaries served in 1930. They invariably lead a procession. Their badge consists of a fanlike occipital ornament of towering arara tail feathers (pl. 35, *a*).

Since the office of the girl associates (mekuičwẹ'i) is also lifelong, the present incumbents, Koté and Hąrarák, had been appointed at the opening of the cycle and had served in the three preceding performances of the current cycle. Contrary to my own earlier information, these associates do not represent the exogamous moieties; they are chosen with reference to their *patrilineal* descent to represent the two rainy season (ką'makra and atų'kmakra) moieties. When they are painted for the closing pepyé celebration, one girl is reckoned as of a western plaza group (kétre), the other as of an eastern plaza group (čépre).

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The girls' place is in the middle of the boys' line. Each has as her badge two chest

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cords, from which hang beaded tassels, a rod comb, and a little bowl for urucú. (See pl. 20, *a*.) The badges are made by the girl's maternal uncle, and are difficult to buy because as long as she lives she treasures the decoration as a souvenir of her ceremonial activity.

Finally, the ketúaye require two precentors to teach the boys dances and songs, which is done without dance-rattle accompaniment. They bear the title of the model dancer at the ordinary dances of women and girls, namely, ikrérekate. They stand at the extreme end of the line, beside the leader, and wear no badges. Chief Hąktokót himself assumed the office for the eastern plaza moiety, while a man of mature years who also served as model dancer on other occasions figured in the same capacity for the western groups.

The date for opening the solemnity was known only to the councilors and the newly chosen officials. On the afternoon selected the two catchers successively entered each of the several dwellings of his own plaza moiety, led out a boy, and took him to the plaza. The two lads were placed opposite each other, so as to initiate two parallel lines extending from east to west, the eastern plaza moiety line on the south side, the western plaza moiety line on the north side. The first two boys thus led to the plaza were the age-class leaders. There followed sixteen boys from each side and finally the two girls.

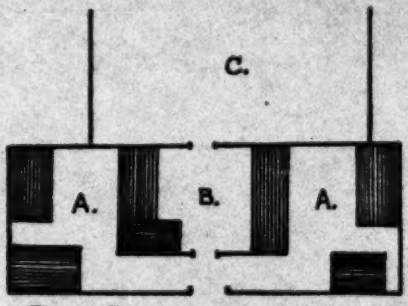

Fig. 11. House of seclusion of ketúaye. A, living room; B, internment cell; C, courtyard.

= platform beds.

Seclusion.—Immediately after the completion of the two lines, the two commandants led them into the woods to fetch palm leaves for their seclusion chambers. These are invariably in the same two houses, which occupy rather exactly the east and west points of the village, and with this function in mind are from the start built on a larger scale than the ordinary dwellings. Each of the two groups is domiciled on the appropriate side.

At the rear wall of each of the two houses a chamber, each 5 m. long and of somewhat lesser width, is partitioned off by high grass walls, but so as not to extend to the front wall of the house, thus leaving a corridor between this wall and the front wall of the chamber. Facing the front wall of the house the chamber wall has its entrance, usually covered with a mat, and the back wall that is common to the house and the chamber provides an exit. In order to render the ketúaye invisible when occupied in the open air, two grass walls several meters long project from the back of the house at right angles to it. (Fig. 11.)

Except for their afternoon singing the ketúaye, including the class leaders, remain day and night in their chambers. The commandants and the girls sleep with their families, but spend the entire day with the secluded novices. On the other hand, the catchers and precentors never enter the chambers; they join the ketúaye only when these take up their places in the plaza.

During their entire seclusion the ketúaye daily appear in the plaza toward 5 P.M., in order to sing there. The catchers give the signal for the assembly by standing opposite each other in the plaza, one facing west, the other east; they leave a sufficient space to permit the double line of ketúaye to form between them. As soon as

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from the village, where the chiefs and councilors also gathered. They sat somewhat apart and discussed unobtrusively the appointment of qualified functionaries for the diverse offices to be filled. Without attracting attention, they summoned a man about thirty years old and made him catcher (hapą́nkate); in contrast to the ketúaye arrangement there is only a single catcher since the pepyé phase lacks the plaza group dichotomy. The choice is also independent of age-class affiliation.

Next a man named Kopkré was appointed the first commandant (mekapónkatepéy), being chosen from the põhį́kama, that is, from the next older class on the west side since a western age class was being initiated. He was about forty years old and belonged to the čẽpre (an eastern) plaza group (pl. 33, *a*).

Kapẽrtų́k, the deputy commandant (mekapónkatekahą́k) chosen, was one of the oldest of the prospective initiates, possibly twenty-three (pl. 33, *b*), His being already married militated against the ancient rule that young men take a wife only after graduation from all initiation rituals. He had not been prominent in the last ketúaye of his class, but was chosen for his calmness, intelligence, and undisputed oratorical talents. He belonged to the aučét (western) plaza group.

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The leaders were of course those of all preceding celebrations of this cycle—Čątú, about eighteen years old, of the kupẽ́ plaza group (western) (pl. 33, *c*); and Karą́hį́, about twenty, of the čõdn (eastern) (pl. 33, *d*). The girl associates (pepyékuičwę́i) also remained identical with those serving in the preceding seclusion rituals of the cycle. They were both now about sixteen years of age. Horarák (western) was already married—another violation of traditional custom; her colleague, Koté (eastern) was merely engaged (pl. 32, *a*).

Two lads, about fourteen years old, who had served as errand boys (kra'tṍipakatire) at the pepkahák of 1931, were selected for the same duties now, that is, as intermediaries between the segregated youths and the outside world. Specifically, they transmit the orders of the commandant. They are not subject to the rules of seclusion.

Of these appointees only the catcher was at once made privy to the council's decisions. He ordered the wakṍkama (i.e., the class immediately superior to the prospective initiates, hence stationed as their eastern counterparts in the plaza) to fashion a somewhat curved cylindrical club, 76 cm. in length and 5 cm. in thickness. The upper half was painted red, the butt half black, and on this latter was stuck parrot down. (See pl. 35, *c*.) The catcher clandestinely received this weapon and hid it in the prospective house of internment of the eastern class leader Čątú, who—as an exception—in contrast to all other pepyé, was not to be interned in his mother's house but in an avuncular namesake's. This maternal kinsman was living with his wife on the west side of the village, so that the leader of the eastern division was anomalously secluded on the west side, the reason being that he had no living mother or maternal aunt.

With the close of the race and the throwing down of the logs before the house of the eastern vų'tę́, the class to be initiated had a precentor called. The girls ranged themselves as usual for a dance, while the youths took positions in front of them.

Suddenly the roof thatch of Čątú's (the uncle's) wife's house parted a little above the lower edge, and the catcher, himself invisible, thrust the ceremonial club (kõkrąčét) through the slit, pointing toward the dancers. No sooner had they caught sight of it than they answered with the piercing quavers of the "payarkwamé" cry, produced by slapping their lips with the palms of their hands. The catcher then withdrew the club and trotted out of the house toward the plaza, where he deposited it on the ground before the line of girls. Forthwith one of the wakṍkama class,